

A PRIMER OF ASSASSINATION THEORIES

The whole spectrum of doubt, from the Warren commissioners to Ousman Ba

HOW IT HAPPENED

1. SINGLE-BULLET THEORY

Proponents: A 4-3 majority of the Warren Commission (see chart, page 208). And most Commission lawyers, notably Arlen Specter, who developed the theory in March, 1964, and Norman Redlich, who advocated it as the only alternative to a two-assassin theory. **Thesis:** The first bullet wounded both Kennedy and Connally. A second bullet hit Kennedy in the head and killed him. Another bullet missed the car entirely and was never found. **Selling Point:** This is the only theory that explains the assassination in terms of a single assassin. Why? Because films of the assassination show that a maximum of only 1.8 seconds could have elapsed between the earliest point at which Kennedy was first hit and the latest point at which Connally was first hit. Since the bolt of the murder rifle cannot be operated in less than 2.3 seconds, it could not possibly have been fired twice during the time in which both men were hit. Either both men were hit by the same bullet or there were two assassins.



This precise bullet path is essential to the Commission's theory that the first bullet went through Kennedy and then hit Connally (Exhibit 385). Any slight difference would rule this out and thereby suggest a second assassin.

Drawback No. 1: The single-bullet theory is tenable if and only if the three F.B.I. reports (November 26, December 9 and January 13) are completely wrong on their statements of the autopsy. Why? Because these three reports all state the first bullet did not go completely through Kennedy and therefore it could not have gone on to hit Connally, who was seated in front of Kennedy.

Retorts: 1. *The Incompetent F.B.I.* J. Lee Rankin, at the time the Commission's general counsel, and Norman Redlich, his deputy, have said—after

the December 13 F.B.I. Summary Report was published in *Inquest*—that the "so-called F.B.I. Summary Report" (which the Commission considered of "principal importance") was "evaluated and discarded" during the inquiry. Redlich further said "the Commission study used the actual (November 26) reports of the F.B.I. investigative agents, not just the summary." (However, the actual report, just recently found in the National Archives, corroborates the Summary Report.)

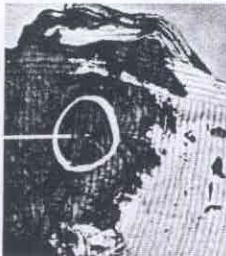
2. *Time* magazine proposes that the F.B.I. was completely wrong on all reports and has long since publicly admitted these errors. (However, the F.B.I. told *The Washington Post* that its Summary Report was accurate as of when it was prepared, implying the doctors later may have changed their opinion. The F.B.I. declined comment to *The New York Times* in June, 1966, on the question of whether or not its reports were erroneous. Even to Commission champion Fletcher Knebel, the F.B.I. would only admit that it was possible that their initial reports did not reflect a subsequent decision by the doctors.)

3. *The Commission's Post-Report*, reported by Fletcher Knebel, holds that the day after the autopsy, on receiving further information about the throat wound from the Dallas doctors, the autopsy doctors reached the conclusion that the bullet exited from Kennedy's throat. Aside from the fact that this theory contradicts the version of the autopsy given in *The Warren Report*, it still leaves unresolved the problem of the bullet wound "below the shoulder" (reported by the F.B.I.), that later apparently moved up to the back of the neck.

Drawback No. 2: Photographs of the President's shirt and jacket support the F.B.I. report that the first bullet struck Kennedy below the shoulder. If the bullet fired from above did enter below the shoulder it is highly unlikely that it exited through the throat.

Retorts: 1. *The Creeping Shirt.* Norman Redlich has suggested (after the F.B.I. photographs were published in *Inquest*) that the President's shirt somehow rose up a few inches so that the bullet hole in the shirt coincided with a hole in the rear of the neck. Experimentation indicates, however, that raising the shirt over the collar line entails doubling it up, which would produce two holes in the back of the shirt.

2. *Newsweek* magazine suggests that Kennedy may have been bent over so



Exhibits 59 and 60 indicate that the bullet entered lower than the Commission said it had.

far that his shoulder was higher than his throat. But the films of the assassination show that Kennedy was sitting erect, and his back brace, according to the Report "tended to make him sit up straight."



This photograph of the F.B.I. restaging, which appeared in several editions of *The Warren Report*, not only contradicts the Commission's placement of the bullet path but shows that if the bullet entered where the hole in the jacket is, and then went on to hit Connally, it would have come out Kennedy's chest, not his throat. And Kennedy had no chest wounds.

Drawback No. 3: Governor Connally says it is inconceivable that he could have been struck by the same bullet that hit Kennedy. He remembers that after hearing the first shot he turned to his right but could not see the President. He then began to turn to his left, and was hit. His story is corroborated by Mrs. Connally.

Retort: *Connally was confused.* The Commission brushed aside Governor Connally's testimony (and his wife's) by declaring that in view of the circumstances he could hardly be expected to recall clearly what happened.

2. F.B.I. THEORY

Proponents: The F.B.I.

Thesis: 1. The first bullet hit Kennedy below the shoulder and penetrated "only a distance of a finger length." This bullet was "expelled" onto the

President's stretcher when the Dallas doctors applied external heart massage. 2. The second bullet struck Connally. 3. The third bullet entered Kennedy's head and fragmented. (The impact of the shot sent a tiny fragment of bone through Kennedy's throat, causing a small throat wound.) All shots came from the Book Depository.

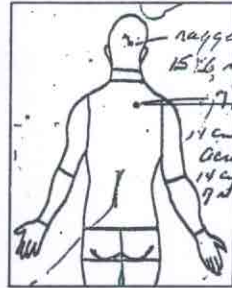


Exhibit No. 397, the autopsy sketch drawn by Dr. Humes, shows a bullet wound lower than the Commission's Exhibit 385 does.

Selling Points: 1. An entry wound below the shoulder would explain the shirt and jacket holes being about six inches below the top of the collar. It would also serve to explain the autopsy sketch showing a wound well below the collar line. And it would explain the Secret Service testimony that it was six inches below the collar.

2. The supposition that the bullet also fell out of Kennedy's back accounts for the bullet found on the stretcher. (See Planted-Bullet Theory.)

3. The tiny bone fragment accounts for the small throat wound. Also, a bone fragment would explain the absence of metallic traces on the holes in the front of the shirt.

Drawback No. 1: The F.B.I. Theory, by positing that Kennedy and Connally were hit by separate bullets, leads to a two-assassin theory. As one Commission lawyer bluntly put it: "To say that they were hit by separate bullets is synonymous with saying that there were two assassins."

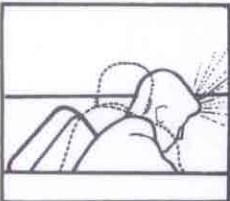
Drawback No. 2: The Fourth Bullet. Late in the investigation, it was discovered that a bystander, James Tague, had been wounded by one of the shots. The F.B.I. Theory holds that all three shots hit inside the President's car. Yet it was unlikely that Tague was wounded by any of these shots since he was standing about 260 feet away at the time of the fusillade. This raises the possibility that Tague was wounded by a fragment from a fourth bullet. But only three shells were found in the Book Depository.

Drawback No. 3: If the F.B.I. autopsy report is accurate, then the Commission's autopsy findings had to be purposely falsified. The implications of this are almost too disturbing to imagine. Yet, the fact that the autopsy surgeon, Commander Humes, burned "certain preliminary notes" has given rise to the theory that the "preliminary notes" actually contained the earlier version of the autopsy referred to by the F.B.I. This question is unresolved.

One of the main stimuli for theories that shots came from someplace other than the Book Depository is an amateur eight-millimeter film of the assassination taken by Abraham Zapruder. In ten seconds of color film, virtually the entire sequence of events is recorded. The Zapruder film shows the motorcade proceeding down Elm Street with the President smiling and waving, then suddenly he reaches for his throat, apparently hit. About a second later Connally grimaces with pain and begins toppling over. A few seconds elapse, then a bullet visibly strikes the President's head. From the film, the Commission judged that the President was first hit between film frame 210 and 215, and the fatal head shot occurred on film frame 313. By determining the shutter speed of the camera (18.3 frames per second), the Commission ascertained: 1) a maximum of 5.6 seconds elapsed from the first to the final shot; and 2) no more than 1.8 seconds elapsed between the time Kennedy and Connally were first hit. This time bind led directly to the Commission's Single-Bullet Theory (see above). The Zapruder film also led to four other interesting theories.

3. HEAD MOVEMENT THEORY

Proponent: Vincent Salandria, a Philadelphia lawyer. Using two slide projectors, and superimposing frame 316 over frame 313, Salandria finds that after the fatal head shot, Kennedy's head moves sharply backward and to the left, a direction inconsistent with shots from the Depository. Salandria extrapolated the trajectory from the direction in which the head moves and concludes that the shot came from behind the picket fence or the arcade on the grassy knoll. Salandria also suspects that, because of the massive devastation, this second wound, unlike the first, may have been caused by a dum-dum bullet—which couldn't have come from Oswald's rifle.



4. EARLY-HIT THEORY

A group of California theorists has used the Zapruder film to show that the first shot hit Kennedy between film frames 190 and 210. If true, this would be significant because the Commission established that during this interval the line of sight from the sixth-floor window in the Depository was obstructed by the foliage of an oak tree; therefore the shot must have come from elsewhere.

Harold Weisberg also uses the Zapruder film to prove the Early-Hit Theory. Since Zapruder testified that he saw Kennedy hit, and Zapruder's view

was blocked by a traffic sign between film frames 205 and 225 (by which time Kennedy had already been hit), Weisberg concludes that Kennedy was hit before film frame 205.

5. MISSING-FRAME THEORY

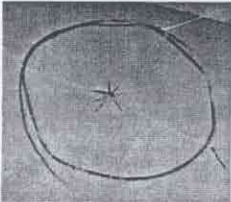
The fact that film frames 208 through 211 have been deleted from the black-and-white frame-by-frame photographs published by the Warren Commission (Exhibit 885) and from the color slides of the Zapruder film at the National Archives—and the fact that frames 207 and 212 show obvious splice marks—has led a number of theorists to suspect that Kennedy was shot during that interval and that the four missing film frames were suppressed deliberately. **Drawback:** Life magazine owns the original film and according to those who have seen it, the film is complete, no frames are missing, and Kennedy does not appear to have been hit in the sequence. The Archive's frames may just have been damaged innocently.

6. TRAFFIC SIGN THEORY

David Lifton, a U.C.L.A. graduate student, claims that he can detect stress marks coming from the traffic sign starting at frame 212 and continuing until frame 221. He interprets these as shock waves caused by a bullet hitting the sign. This shot, he figures, could not have been the same one that Oswald is supposed to have fired because of the timing. And strangely, right after the assassination the sign was removed.

7. ENTRY WOUND THEORY

Proponents: Mark Lane, Thomas Buchanan, Joachim Joesten, et al. **Thesis:** Early statements were made by Dallas doctors suggesting that the throat wound was made by a bullet entering the throat. Since films of the assassination firmly establish that the President's car was past the Book Depository when he was shot, a bullet entering the throat must have come from a point well in front of the Depository. "In front" was at first interpreted to mean the railroad overpass; however, when the Commission showed that a bullet did not in fact pass through the limousine's windshield, as was believed

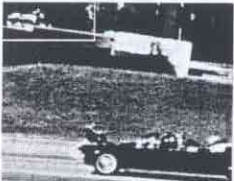


by the proponents of this theory, "in front" was then interpreted to mean the grassy knoll. Mark Lane states in his latest version that Kennedy was directly facing the knoll when he was shot in the throat, although none of the films indicates this to be the case. **Selling Point:** The entry-wound theory explains the Dallas doctors' early statements and the relatively small di-

ameter of the wound, although the doctors later testified that under certain conditions an exit wound would have the same appearance as an entry wound. **Drawback:** The entry-wound theory does not explain what finally happened to the bullet that entered the throat. Since no exit wound was found in the President's back (and no bullet was in the President's body), the entry-wound theory depends on the assumption that the autopsy and other evidence was changed.

8. OVER THE FENCE THEORY

Proponents: Maurice Schonfeld, U.P.I., Jack Fox, U.P.I., Burt Reinhardt, U.P.I. In the United Press-International film library, a New York hobbyist found an eight-millimeter color film of the assassination made by Orville Nix. One of the frames of the Nix film particularly interested him because it showed an object behind the wall on the grassy



The Nix-U.P.I. film and partial blowup.

knoll. He then employed a film specialist to blow the frame up, and it became clear that the object was in fact a vehicle. On the roof of the vehicle, he discerned a man aiming what appeared to be a rifle at the President's car. He immediately took his photograph to Dallas and asked eyewitnesses about it.

U.P.I. editors, apparently impressed with the photograph, sent reporter Jack Fox to Dallas to interview witnesses to the assassination.

Lee E. Bowers, Jr. told him that the photograph was "exactly what I saw." S. M. Holland, who was standing on the overpass and had one of the best views of any eyewitness, told Fox there were four shots: "...the first came from the book building and hit the President. The second came from the same place and hit Governor John Connally.... The third shot came from behind the picket fence to the north of Elm Street. There was a puff of smoke under the trees like someone had thrown out a Chinese firecracker and a report entirely different from the one which was fired from the book building...."

According to Holland, the fourth shot came from the Book Depository. When Holland reached the fence he found a station wagon and sedan. On the bumper of the station wagon there were two muddy marks "as if someone had stood there to look over the fence." At least seven other witnesses on the overpass saw smoke rising from the same area, and many other witnesses thought the shots came from behind

the picket fence. One Dallas policeman, J. M. Smith, even claimed to have "caught the smell of gunpowder" behind the wooden fence.

9. EYEWITNESS THEORIES

Eyewitness accounts of the assassination are perhaps the most popular source of two-assassin theories—virtually any armchair student of the assassination, given the Report's twenty-six volumes of testimony, can develop an interesting theory as to where the shots came from. Right after the twenty-six volumes were made public, Harold Feldman, a writer on the psychology of assassins, counted up the various sources of shots reported by 121 eyewitnesses. His tally revealed that 38 gave "no clear opinion," 32 thought the shots came from the Book Depository, and 51 thought the shots came from the grassy knoll area. Largely on the basis of this analysis, Feldman advanced the theory that there were two assassins: one on the grassy knoll and one in the Book Depository.

Drawback: Eyewitness recollections, often conflict; which means that somebody has to be wrong.

WHO DID IT?

The following six theories name Lee Harvey Oswald as the lone assassin.

10. UNDERGROUND MAN THEORY

Proponent: The Warren Commission. The Commission did not reach a final conclusion as to why Oswald killed President Kennedy. Instead, it listed five "factors" (which, a Commission lawyer said, read like clichés from a TV soap opera). They were:

- (1) hostility to his environment;
- (2) failure to establish "meaningful relationships";
- (3) desire for a place in history;
- (4) a commitment to Marxism and communism (a "factor" inserted at the insistence of Commissioner Gerald Ford);
- (5) a capacity to act decisively without regard to the consequences.

According to this theory, Oswald had no motive; he acted out of blind resentment.

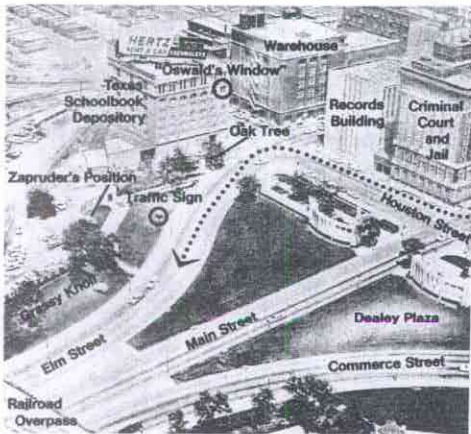
11. MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE THEORY

Proponents: Some Commission lawyers and members of the C.I.A. Since Oswald spent considerable time in a Soviet hospital, a few Commission lawyers entertained the theory that Oswald might have been brainwashed and conditioned as a " sleeper " assassin; then he went haywire (i.e. he was accidentally turned on). The Commission decided to send a letter to the C.I.A. requesting information on the "present status of Soviet 'mind-conditioning' techniques." A few weeks later, a C.I.A. agent replied that this possibility was still "a main school of thought" at the C.I.A. on the assassination, and although such techniques were still in a relatively primitive stage, this form of conditioning could be induced by drugs. The theory, however, was not further developed.

WHO'S AFRAID OF THE WARREN REPORT?

Elementary, my dear Warren.
Everybody.
And here's why . . .

by Edward Jay Epstein



The Warren Commission was supposed to end all doubts about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Tragically, it hasn't. The distinguished members of the Commission never intended that their Report should become the basis for an amateur detective game. Yet this is precisely what is happening. A growing number of people are spending their leisure hours scouring the Commission's Report and the twenty-six volumes of testimony and exhibits for possible clues to a conspiracy. Others, using high-powered magnifying glasses and infrared lights, are scrutinizing photographs of the assassination scene, hoping to find snipers concealed in the shrubbery. Still others are combing the National Archives on the hunch that they will locate something relevant in the three hundred cubic feet of documents that the Commission deemed irrelevant. Since the National Archives will provide microfilm copies of any nonclassified document in the assassination file at five cents a page, including F.B.I. and Secret Service investigative reports, a syndicate of private researchers is planning to buy all the available documents. Presumably they will then subdivide the 20,000 or so pages into areas (e.g., Ruby, Oswald, eyewitnesses, etc.), and attempt a more definitive study than the Commission itself conducted. Elizabeth Hardwick, a literary critic of considerable stature, is considering joining the syndicate for another purpose. She believes it might contain the American *comédie humaine*.

Meanwhile, more active private investigators are tracking down leads in Dallas and re-interviewing star witnesses. A few are keeping the death count on those who have been even remotely connected with the case. And there is a burgeoning grapevine through which assassination news is rapidly disseminated. As soon as a new discovery is made, assassination buffs across the country are alerted by a telephonic chain letter.

This phenomenon would not be particularly disturbing if the players were merely kooks. However, most of them are not. Assassination buffs apparently are serious people—professionals, students, housewives, etc.—bent on solving what they consider to be an unsolved mystery. Perhaps this is all part of the American folklore tradition of amateurs stepping in and solving cases that baffle the police. Already amateurs have made some constructive contributions to the case. Mrs. Sylvia Meagher, a U.N. careerist, has completely indexed the twenty-six volumes of testimony, a feat the Commission never had time to accomplish. Mr. and Mrs. George Nash, sociologists, found three new witnesses to the Tippit murder by following a tip given to them by a Dallas undertaker. Vincent Salandria, a Philadelphia lawyer, has charted the precise movements of the President's head after the bullet's impact by superimposing on each other the individual frames of the film of the assassination taken by a bystander. And Paul Hoch, a Berkeley graduate student, has unearthed some extremely important documents in the National Archives, including the original F.B.I. report on the autopsy. The man who has undoubtedly done the most to propagate the assassination cult is Mark Lane, thirty-nine-year-old attorney and sometime New York State Assemblyman. Lane began lecturing in coffeehouses, then stumped the college circuit, and is currently promoting both a book and a two-and-a-half-hour documentary film on the assassination. Above all, the Warren Commission itself shares at least part of the responsibility for the game. The Commission was obliged to publish all twenty-six volumes of data, although Commissioner Allen Dulles saw no point in doing this. "Nobody reads," he said. "Don't believe people read in this country. There will be few professors who will read the record." Making the record public, however, is The American Way.

Indeed, the number of people who have bothered to read the record has been small (less than a thousand sets of the twenty-six volumes have been sold to date). But they have been an inquisitive group, often ingenious. With their help, the public record has spawned a school of theories that has been swimming in the eddies of the public press, lately with increasing dizziness. Many of the theories, it is true, depend on fragments of evidence which, although clear enough, are palpably irrelevant (i.e., the death of several peripheral witnesses since the assassination). But they are no more irrelevant than many of the Report's own meticulous entries (i.e., in July of 1962 Oswald spent \$3.87 for a subscription to *Time*). Assassination buffs have seized, perhaps too eagerly, on discrepancies in the testimony of witnesses who were understandably shaken and confused. But in this they are no more at fault than the Commission, which appeared (Continued on page 330)

NOTES FOR A NEW INVESTIGATION

by Sylvia Meagher

The woman who indexed the entire twenty-six volumes of The Warren Report emerges from her task with this advice: reopen the hearings and finish the job. For a starter...

CALL THE IMPORTANT WITNESSES NOT HEARD BY THE COMMISSION

Concerning Oswald's Activities...

Pierce Allman, television newsmen: Oswald had said that someone had approached him outside the Depository after the shooting and had asked to be directed to the nearest phone. Oswald's account corresponds with the actual experience of Pierce Allman, and this conflicts with the Commission's reconstruction of Oswald's "escape."

Mary Dowling, waitress at Dobbs House: She told the F.B.I. that Oswald and Tippit were in the restaurant at the same time, two days before the assassination, and that Tippit especially noticed Oswald when he complained about his food. The Warren Report says that the two men were not acquainted and had never even seen one another.

John Rene Heindel, ex-Marine acquaintance of Oswald's: Heindel was known by the nickname "Hidell," to Oswald and to other Marines. The Warren Report says that there is no real "Hidell" and that it was only an alias invented by Oswald for his own purposes.

Alonzo Hudkins, reporter for the Houston Post: He gave the Secret Service information suggesting that Oswald was being paid \$200 a month by the F.B.I. as an informant holding assigned number "S172."

Milton Jones, bus passenger: He told the F.B.I. that Dallas policemen had boarded the bus and searched the passengers just after Oswald had debarked, which was before anyone noticed Oswald's absence from the Depository. **Sandra Styles**, Depository office employee: With Victoria Adams, she ran down the back stairs of the Depository immediately after shots were fired but did not encounter Oswald—supposedly running down at that time—nor Roy Truly and policeman M. L. Baker, supposedly running up.

... The Shots and Related Circumstances

James Chaney, motorcycle policeman: He rode in the motorcade and reportedly saw Governor Connally hit by a separate bullet after the President was first shot. This conflicts with the Commission's single-bullet theory.

Julia Mercen: About 75 minutes before

the assassination, while driving toward the triple underpass, she saw a man walk up the grassy knoll carrying what appeared to be a rifle case.

Approximately 196 people known to have witnessed the assassination at the scene who were never questioned by the Commission. (Named in Appendix to Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment*.)

... The Tippit Shooting

There is considerable confusion and contradiction about the time that Tippit was shot, the description of the killer, the movements of the suspect, and the actions of the eyewitnesses. The following people could have given important information.

T. F. Bowley, the only witness at the Tippit scene who looked at his watch and checked the time when he saw Tippit's body. Bowley said in an affidavit taken by the Dallas police that Tippit was already dead at 1:10 p.m., while the Commission says that he was shot at 1:15 p.m. If Bowley was correct about the time, Oswald could not have walked from his rooming house to East 10th Street in time to kill Tippit.

Radio-car patrolman R. C. Nelson: Tippit drove to central Oak Cliff, supposedly on a simultaneous instruction to him and Nelson. But Nelson went to the Depository, casting doubt on whether either of them was really ordered to Oak Cliff.

Radio-car patrolman H. W. Summers: He obtained a description of the Tippit suspect from an unknown bystander—who said that the suspect had "black wavy hair," was 5'11" tall, and carried a .32 automatic pistol.

Marie Tippit, widow of J. D. Tippit: She probably saw her husband about an hour before he was killed, when he came home for lunch. Also, she could have given information on such things as their unlisted phone and Tippit's "work at home" in the evenings.

Frank Wright and his wife: They lived across the street half a block from the spot where Tippit was killed. Mr. Wright heard the shots, saw a man standing right at Tippit's car who "ran as fast as he could go," got into a small old grey 1950-1951 coupe, and "drove away as quick as you could see." Mrs. Wright phoned the police to report the shooting; it was her call that resulted in the dispatch of the ambulance. **Ambulance drivers Clayton Butler and Eddie Kinsley** were never questioned either.

... Oswald's Arrest

There are many unanswered ques-

tions as to who pointed Oswald out to the police, who drew a gun, whether Oswald tried to shoot an officer, and what was said by whom. The following witnesses present at the theatre might have thrown light on those matters: **Bob Apple**, insurance investigator. **Detective Paul Bentley**: He found a forged "Hidell" card on Oswald. **Bob Barrett**, F.B.I. agent. **Jim Ewell**, reporter.

Detective E. E. Taylor: He stayed behind at the theatre after the arrest to make a list of the names and addresses of the patrons. The list is not among the Commission's exhibits. **Police officers Baggett, Buhk, Cunningham, Lyon, Stringer, and Toney**.

... Oswald's Interrogation

Although Dallas Police Captain Fritz "kept no notes" or transcript of the interrogation of Oswald, and the reports submitted by Fritz and Federal agents (primarily from memory) were incomplete and in some vital respects contradictory—e.g., Oswald's trip to Mexico, where he was at the time of the shooting, and his "Hidell" alias—the following persons present were not asked to submit reports or to testify: **Jim Allen**, former Assistant District Attorney; Secret Service agents **Grant, Howard, Kunkel, Patterson, and Warner**; F.B.I. agent **Joe Myers**; U.S. Marshall **Robert Nash**; **Chuck Webster**, Professor of Law.

... The Walker Shooting

In addition to the Kennedy-Tippit killings, the Warren Commission also "convicted" Oswald of attempting to murder General Edwin A. Walker in April, 1963. But they neglected to take testimony from:

Walter Kirk Coleman, a teen-age neighbor of General Walker, who saw two men flee the scene by car after the shot was heard. Oswald could not drive, and the Report said he was alone.

Detective Ira Van Cleave, who participated in the original investigation of the Walker shooting and who told the press at that time that the bullet had been "identified as a 30.06," which rules out Oswald's Carcano rifle.

... The Autopsy

In view of the conflicting descriptions of the wound in the President's back by the F.B.I. and the autopsy surgeons, witnesses who saw the body could have given crucial information.

Admiral George Burkley, Presidential physician: He was in the motorcade, then at Parkland Hospital, and later at the autopsy, and he received the autopsy report submitted by the pathologists.

Francis X. O'Neill, Jr., F.B.I. agent: He was present throughout the autopsy and his description of the wound in the President's back conflicts with the official autopsy report.

James W. Sibert, F.B.I. agent: Same as O'Neill above.

John T. Stringer, Jr., medical photographer: He photographed the President's body.

Fourteen other Armed Forces or Federal officials named in the F.B.I. Re-

port, and four funeral-home workers who prepared the body for burial.

... The Stretcher-Bullet

(See *Planted Bullet Theory*.) **Richard E. Johnson**, Secret Service agent: He was handed the stretcher bullet by O. P. Wright, chief of personnel, at Parkland Hospital, before the Presidential party departed. Wright was not called either.

... A Possible Conspiracy

F.B.I. agent Warren De Brueys: Before the assassination he reported on Oswald's activities in New Orleans; he was present at Oswald's interrogation; and he investigated allegations suggesting that Oswald expected to receive a large sum of money.

Robert Adrian Taylor, former service-station attendant: He claimed that Oswald had given him a rifle in lieu of payment for car repairs in the Spring of 1963. The Warren Report mistakenly asserts that Taylor retracted his identification of Oswald.

R. W. Westphal and other Dallas policemen prepared reports immediately after the assassination in which Oswald's old Elsbeth Street address was specified when the police had no known access to that address and although they claim they had no record of Oswald. (Continued on page 335)

RESTDY THE EVIDENCE, STAGE NEW TESTS

The Commission's failure to follow up leads, its dependence on unrealistic tests and its omission of vital evidence necessitate further research, such as:

1 Tracing and examination of the unseen autopsy photographs and X-rays. 2 Rifle and marksmanship tests on the basis of a reenactment of the shots from the Depository, using dragged car and dummies, and riflemen whose capabilities correspond with Oswald's level of skill. (The Warren Commission used experts.)

3 Tracing of the rifle obtained by Robert Adrian Taylor (see above) to determine whether the weapon was ever in the possession of Oswald or persons associated with him.

4 Tracing of laundry tag on the jacket discarded near the Tippit scene (number "B 9738") to determine whether Oswald or someone else had it cleaned. 5 Reenactment of Oswald's taxi ride, in a metered vehicle, to determine the actual time. In reenactments performed for the Warren Commission the estimate was progressively reduced from eleven to nine to six minutes.

6 Re-auditing of the police radio log to make an authoritative transcript which would resolve the conflicts among the three transcripts made for the Warren Commission.

7 Auditing of tapes of statements to the press by Parkland Hospital doctors, describing the President's wounds (tape of the first press conference is said to be "lost").

8 Tracing of Tippit's clipboard, never requested by the Warren Commission although it is visible in a photograph of his car before it was removed from the scene of. (Continued on page 336)

fighting with Bringuier, he asked to see an F.B.I. agent. An F.B.I. agent visited him in jail and questioned him about the activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

3. Oswald's address book contained the address and license plate number of Dallas F.B.I. agent James Hosty. It was later deleted from the police list of Oswald's addresses.

Drawback: J. Edgar Hoover categorically denied that Oswald had any connection with the F.B.I. and offered the F.B.I.'s file on Oswald to the Commission. (The Chief Justice refused it, however, on the grounds that it might contain secret information.)

24. OSWALD AS SECRET AGENT

Proponents: Mrs. Marguerite Oswald and Norman Mailer.

Mrs. Oswald suggested long before the assassination, and is still of the belief, that her son was a C.I.A. agent. His trip to Russia was a C.I.A. mission, and so were his later activities. If Oswald was involved in the assassination, Mrs. Oswald suggests, "Now it could have been that my son and the Secret Service were all involved in a mercy killing," explaining, "If he [Kennedy] was dying of an incurable disease, this would be for the security of our country."

Norman Mailer, on the other hand, believes that it is quite possible Oswald was an undercover agent for not one, but a number of espionage services (who "tend to collect the same particular small agents in common").

Mailer wrote in *Book Week*: "It was all a comedy of the most horrible sort, but when Kennedy was assassinated, the espionage services of half the world may have discovered in the next hour that one little fellow in Dallas was... a secret, useless little undercover agent who was on their private lists; what nightmares must have ensued." Oswald was then liquidated by one of his employer-agencies. According to Mailer's scenario, we hear an Ivy League voice cry out in some unknown council-of-war room: "Well, can't something be done, can't we do something about this man?", and a man getting up, saying, "See you in a while," and a little later a phone call mude and another, and finally a voice saying to our friend Ruby, "Jack, I got good news. There's a little job...."

25. TWO OSWALDS THEORY

Proponent: Richard H. Popkin. These: Professor Popkin (Chairman, Philosophy Department, University of California at San Diego) has advanced a rather ingenious theory to explain certain discrepancies in the Commission's findings. Certain witnesses claim to have encountered Oswald prior to November 22 in places where he could not possibly have been. To explain these anomalies, Popkin suggests that there were actually "two Oswalds"; the second "Oswald" closely resembled the real Oswald. The real Oswald's role was to be a decoy—that is, he would lead the police astray by becoming the prime suspect. The escape of the second Oswald, who actually fired the shots from the Depository, was thus facilitated. When Oswald's trial came

up, he would undoubtedly produce a surprise alibi, and the evidence would be so confused by the second Oswald's pre-assassination maneuvers that the Oswald-on-trial would be acquitted. What went wrong, however—and here the theory becomes a mite complicated—was that the real Oswald met Officer Tippit, who knew the second Oswald, and waved him down. In the ensuing confusion, Oswald panicked and shot Tippit.

This theory differs from the Oswald Impersonator Theory in one important way: here, the real Oswald is guilty. **Drawback:** The sightings of this "second Oswald" all occurred before it was even known that Kennedy would be coming to Dallas. Thus it seems unlikely that a carefully deceptive plot could have been underway.

Retort: Oswald and his double were only one of many pairs of assassins being set up all over the country on a contingency basis, should the opportunity for action arise.

26. POST-ASSASSINATION DOMINO THEORY

Proponents: Penn Jones Jr. and Mark Lane.

Penn Jones, the editor of the Midlothian, Texas, *Mirror*, notes that a number of key witnesses have died under "clouded circumstances" since the assassination and he suggests the theory that people who know too much about the assassination are being silenced.

For example, Jones cites a meeting at Ruby's apartment at which two newspaper reporters, Bill Hunter and Jim Koethe, were present. Bill Hunter was later killed by the "accidental discharge" of a policeman's revolver in a police station in Long Beach, California. Jim Koethe was killed by a "karate chop" in his Dallas apartment. The murder is still unsolved. Ruby's lawyer, Tom Howard, also attended the meeting. He later died of a "heart attack" (Jones notes "no autopsy was performed"). Jones suggests that some important information was divulged at the meeting, and those who heard the information had to be disposed of.

Moreover, Jones's paper has maintained a death-count on other relevant individuals.

1. Hank Killam, whose wife was a waitress at Ruby's nightclub and whose friend lived in Oswald's rooming house, was found on a Florida street with his throat cut.

2. Dorothy Kilgallen, the only journalist who was granted a private interview with Ruby, died. Jones points out (erroneously) that her death occurred on the night of the "strange" Northeast Power Blackout. (Jones missed the connection that the announcer of *What's My Line*, John Daly, is the Chief Justice's son-in-law.)

3. William Whaley, the cabdriver who took Oswald home after the assassination and possibly talked to him, died in a car crash—the first cabdriver to be killed on duty in Dallas since 1937.

4. Karen Bennett Carlin, another performer at Ruby's club and the last person to talk to Ruby before he shot

Oswald, died of gunshot wounds in Houston, according to Penn Jones. This seems quite strange since she testified to a Commission lawyer after the reported date of her death.

5. Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at Oswald's rooming house who claimed she saw a police car stop in front of the house about ten minutes before Oswald encountered Tippit, also died.

Mark Lane adds the case of Warren Reynolds, a witness to the Tippit shooting, who was shot through the head (but survived); Nancy Mooney, a former stripper in Ruby's nightclub who also provided an alibi for the man accused of shooting Reynolds, hanged herself in the Dallas jail; and Lee E. Bowers, Jr., a bystander who saw a car making a getaway from the grassy knoll, was killed in a car accident to which there were no witnesses.

27. RACIST THEORY

Proponents: Léo Sauvage. Hans Habe (author of *The Wounded Land*).

Sauvage, an American correspondent for *Figaro*, suggests the theory that Kennedy could have been killed by a conspiracy of Southern racists to prevent him from carrying out his civil-rights program. To turn blame away from themselves and onto Leftists, they methodically framed Oswald (by impersonating him and by planting evidence against him). Oswald's murder, however, was not part of the racist conspiracy, but a separate plot instigated by the Dallas police to prevent a trial in which he might be acquitted of the crime.

28. CUI BONO THEORY

Proponents: *Izvestia*, *Truth*, Joachim Joesten, Barbara Garson, Don B. Reynolds, Jack Ruby and others.

Theist: Although not one shred of hard evidence has been uncovered to prove them right, many people have taken the "Who benefited?" line of pursuit and point an accusing finger at Lyndon Johnson.

The Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia*, after condemning the Warren Report as slanderous to Russia, hinted by sly innuendo that President Johnson may have been implicated in the assassination. They cite the soon-to-be published works of Joachim Joesten (seven volumes to be sold by subscription for \$200) which argues that Johnson has been covering up. The next day, *Truth*, the trade-union paper, made the accusation more forcefully.

Californian Barbara Garson has written a satire, based on *Macbeth*, called *Macbird* in which L.B.J. and Lady Bird take the parts of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth in the murder of J.F.K. and Adlai Stevenson (the Egg of Head).

In January of 1964 the Warren Commission learned that Don B. Reynolds, insurance agent and close associate of Bobby Baker, had been heard to say that the F.B.I. knew that Johnson was behind the assassination. When interviewed by the F.B.I., he denied this. But he did recount an incident during the swearing in of Kennedy in which Bobby Baker said words to the effect

that the s.o.b. would never live out his term and that he would die a violent death. Reynolds also vaguely suggested that Governor Connally may have called long distance from Washington to Lee Oswald who was staying in a Dallas Y.M.C.A. He had no proof.

A number of letters allegedly written by Jack Ruby and smuggled out of jail were auctioned off by New York autograph dealer Charles Hamilton. Penn Jones, Jr. bought one and published part of it.

"I walked into a trap the moment I walked down the ramp Sunday morning. This was the spot where they could frame the Jew, and that way all of his people will be blamed as being Communists, this is what they were waiting for. They alone had planned the killing, by they I mean Johnson and others."

"... read the book *Texas Looks at Lyndon* and you may learn quite a bit about Johnson and how he fooled everyone."

Drawback: In a letter to J. Lee Rankin, J. Edgar Hoover wrote, "I have not received any information to implicate President Johnson or Governor Connally in the assassination."

29. DALLAS OLIGARCHY THEORY

Proponent: Thomas Buchanan.

According to Buchanan's theory, "Mr. X," a right-wing Texas oil millionaire, had to eliminate Kennedy and Khrushchev to gain world domination of the oil market. He decided to assassinate Kennedy in such a way that Khrushchev would be discredited. Oswald was to be framed as the assassin, then executed by Tippit. With Oswald dead, the Soviet Union would be blamed for the assassination. Oswald, however, outdrew Tippit and was captured alive later. The conspirators then induced Ruby to kill Oswald as a means of silencing him for good. Aside from Mr. X, Buchanan names the following "additional conspirators":

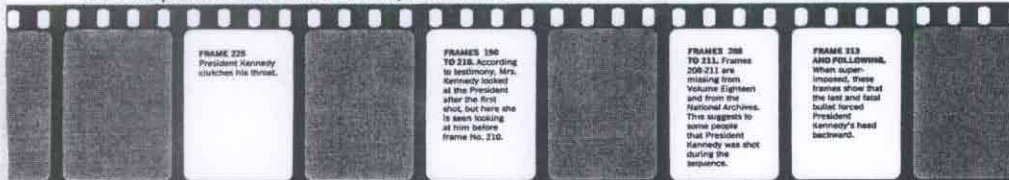
1. The assassin on the bridge. (He hints this was Ruby.)
2. A second assassin in the Depository who was wearing a police uniform.
3. A police officer involved in Oswald's arrest (who was, next to Mr. X, the key conspirator).
4. Tippit.
5. Oswald.
6. One of the policemen who missed Oswald as he left the building.

30. CUBA-FRAMED THEORY

Proponent: Fidel Castro.

About a week after the assassination, Castro suggested that the conspirators intended that Cuba be blamed for the assassination. According to this theory, Oswald may have been one of the riflemen, but his prime role in the conspiracy was to ghost a trail that would lead directly to Cuba. Thus, a few months before the assassination, Oswald set up a phony Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans and Dallas, engaged in "brawls" with anti-Castro Cubans, and identified himself with Castro and Cuba on radio programs. Then he went to Mexico where he tried to obtain a (Continued on page 334)

Follow the patterns of deduction to the major alternatives—one or two assassins—and the conclusions thereafter.



PLUS
What appeared to be a bullet hole in the windshield of the Presidential limousine. And the opinion of Dallas doctors that Kennedy had a throat entry wound.

RAILROAD OVERPASS Currently out of favor as the source of any shots.
THE WINDSHIELD-OVERPASS THEORY
That the first shot came from the railroad overpass directly in front of Kennedy, pierced the windshield and struck him in the throat.

ORIGINATORS: Mark Lane, Oswald's attorney and author of *Rusty To Judgment*; Thomas Buchanan, author of *Who Killed Kennedy?*; Joachim Joesten, author of *Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy?*; Richard Dudman, a reporter for *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

COUPE DE GRACE: Publication of the Warren Report. It revealed that there had been only a crack—no hole—in the windshield. Theoricians then moved slightly over to the right and crept onto the grassy knoll.

THROAT ENTRY WOUND THEORY: That the first shot came from the front in the vicinity of the grassy knoll and hit Kennedy in the throat.

ORIGINATORS: Lane, Buchanan, Joesten, Dudman.

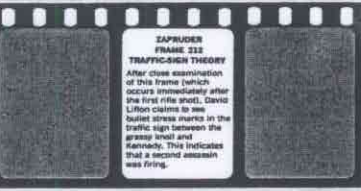
PLUS
The fact that Oswald's view from the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository was blocked by an oak tree at this point.

EARLY-HIT THEORY: That Kennedy was first shot moments before The Warren Commission thinks—and by someone at a position other than the sixth-floor window.

PLUS: An acute distrust of The Warren Commission.

MISSING-FRAMES THEORY: That the Warren Commission, in its zeal to prove Oswald the lone assassin of President Kennedy, cut out frames 208 to 211, because they tended to repudiate their pet theory.

ORIGINATORS of Early-Hit and Missing-Frames theories: The California Group: David Lifton, U.C.L.A. engineering graduate student, Lillian Castellano, accountant, Ray Marcus, author of *The Bastard Bullet*, about bullet No. 399. (See *Planted-Bullet Theory*), Maggie Field, Beverly Hills housewife, Harold Weisberg of Hyattstown, Maryland, author of *Whitewash*.



THESE THEORIES WOULD BE ADVANCED...

PLUS
Testimony from Secret Servicemen present and the fact that motorcycle policemen to the left and rear of Kennedy were splattered with blood and brain matter.

HEAD MOVEMENT THEORY: That the fatal shot to Kennedy's head must have come from the grassy knoll in front and to the right of Kennedy.

ORIGINATORS: The Philadelphia Group: Vincent Stalandria, lawyer; Josiah Thompson, Haverford Philosophy Professor; G. Fonzi, senior editor of *Greater Philadelphia Magazine*; Paul Hoch, Berkeley graduate student; Thomas Stamm, representative of a New York toy manufacturer; Ray Marcus; Sylvia Meagher, author of *Subject Guide*.

DOVETAILS WITH

OVER-THE-FENCE THEORY: Based on an enlargement of one frame of the U.P.I.-Nix movie of the assassination purportedly showing a man aiming a rifle as he leans against a station wagon behind the fence at the top of the grassy knoll.

ORIGINATORS: Maurice Schonfeld, U.P.I., Jack Fox, U.P.I., Burt Reinhardt, U.P.I., Bernie Hoffman, photo technician.

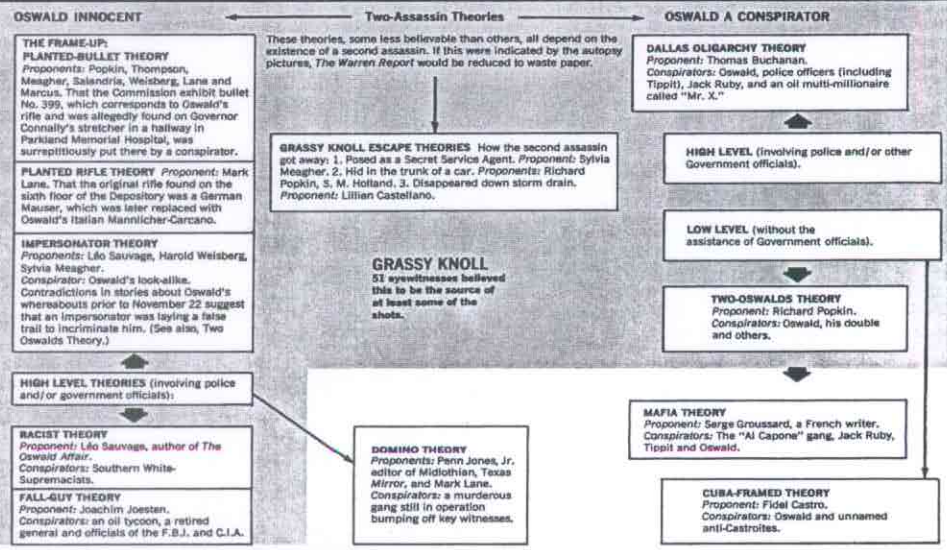
KEY EYEWITNESSES: Jean Hill, saw station wagon behind fence prior to assassination; S. M. Holland, saw puff of smoke behind the fence; Lee Bowers, saw car take off right after assassination.

THESE THEORIES WOULD BE PROVED...

... SHOULD AUTOPSY PHOTOS AND X-RAYS reveal an exit wound in Kennedy's back.

... SHOULD AUTOPSY PHOTOS AND X-RAYS reveal that the head wound was caused by a bullet entering in front and exiting at the rear.

TWO ASSASSINS



All Grassy Knoll theories and theorists are included in the dark grey area.

in the assassination. According to this theory, the impersonator made himself conspicuous at a nearby rifle range, brought a gun into a neighborhood gunsmith, cashed large checks, and acted suspiciously. The impersonator probably took part in the assassination.



Who is This Man? A C.I.A. report on Lee Harvey Oswald arrived at the F.B.I. field office in Dallas the day of the assassination. It revealed that Oswald had visited the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City on September 27, 1963, and included a photograph taken by a secret C.I.A. camera of the man identified as Oswald leaving the Embassy. After the assassination, a problem developed; the man in the C.I.A. photograph was not Oswald's mother or added to the confusion by claiming the man in the photograph was Jack Ruby. (Obviously, it isn't.) Commission lawyers, attempting to find out if the man in the photograph was associated with Oswald or impersonating him, were never able to identify the mystery man. All the C.I.A. would say was that it was a "mix-up."

19. FALL-GUY THEORY

Proponent: Joachim Joesten.
Thesis: That the assassination was the work of a conspiracy involving some officers of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. as well as some Army figures and some reactionary oil millionaires. The conspirators used Oswald as a "fall guy, a red herring, to draw attention while the murderers escaped." The F.B.I. for reasons of its own, completed the frame of Oswald and covered up evidence of the real conspirators.

The next three theories explain how the second assassin escaped from the grassy knoll.

20. BOGUS SECRET-SERVICE MAN THEORY

Proponent: Sylvia Meagher.
Dallas policeman J. M. Smith ran to the parking lot behind the grassy knoll immediately after the assassination. He suddenly encountered a stranger and pulled his gun. The stranger identified himself as a Secret Service agent and showed Smith his credentials (although Smith later could not recall his name). Smith's account is corroborated to some degree by two other law officers—

Deputy Constable Weitzman and Sergeant Harkness.

Sylvia Meagher, an independent researcher, made a meticulous check of Secret Service records and found that no Secret Service agent was on or near the knoll area at the time that Smith encountered the "agent." Mrs. Meagher suggests that the assassin may have escaped by using fake Secret Service credentials.

21. TRUNK THEORY

Proponents: S. M. Holland, Richard H. Popkin.
Soon after the shots were fired, S. M. Holland rushed to the picket fence behind the knoll (where he thought he saw smoke) and found a station wagon and a sedan parked near the fence (see Over the Fence Theory). Muddy footprints led from the bumper of the station wagon to the sedan and then mysteriously ended. Holland said: "I've often wondered if a man could have climbed into the trunk of that car and pulled the lid shut on himself, then someone else have driven it away later." Other theorists, like Professor Popkin, have thought it more likely that the knoll assassin simply hid the rifle in the car, then fled on foot.

22. STORM DRAIN THEORY

Proponent: Lillian Castellano.
Mrs. Castellano, a California accountant, located what appeared to be a storm drain in a photograph of the grassy knoll taken at the time of the assassination. However, it could not be located in later photographs of the grassy knoll. Through a contact in Dallas, Mrs. Castellano obtained a chart of the sewer and drainage system surrounding the grassy knoll. Apparently, the drain was filled in after the assassination. Mrs. Castellano suspected that it could have been part of an escape system.

23. OSWALD AS F.B.I. INFORMER

According to Secret Service report 767, Alonzo Hudkins, a Houston reporter, told the Secret Service that he had heard from Chief Allan Swatt of the Dallas sheriff's office that Lee Harvey Oswald "was being paid two hundred dollars per month by the F.B.I. in connection with their subversive investigation" and that "Oswald had informant number S-172." The Commission never called Hudkins or Swatt to testify.

There are a number of other interesting circumstances surrounding Oswald's possible relationships with the F.B.I.

1. Warren De Bruys, an F.B.I. agent who covered both the New Orleans and Dallas beat, asked Carlos Bringuier to furnish the F.B.I. information about the activities of his Anti-Castro group. When Bringuier refused, De Bruys threatened to send an undercover agent to infiltrate the group. Later, Lee Harvey Oswald came to New Orleans from Dallas and tried to infiltrate Bringuier's group by pretending he was an Anti-Castroite. Bringuier, at first, did not think this was a coincidence.

2. When Oswald was arrested for

WHO KILLED JOHN KENNEDY?



ZAPRIDER FILM
An item from a movie which tends to support to six different and conflicting theories. Taken by Abraham Zapruder, Dallas dress manufacturer. Owned and distributed by Life Magazine.

FRAMES 216 TO 246
These frames, together with the spread of the movie camera, indicate that President Kennedy and Governor Connally were hit 1.8 seconds apart, yet the Maentlicher-Cascano rifle takes 2.3 seconds to reload and fire.

WARREN COMMISSION SINGLE-BULLET THEORY: That the same bullet which passed through J.F.K.'s neck went on to hit Governor Connally.

ORIGINATOR: Arlen Specter, Assistant Counsel in charge of basic facts of the assassination.

STAR WITNESSES: Commander James J. Humes, who conducted autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

CHIEF BOOSTER: Norman Redlich, Deputy Counsel, who argued in favor of the theory before the Commission.

CONVINCED COMMISSIONERS: Chief Justice Earl Warren, Chairman, Allen Dulles, John J. McCloy, Representative Gerald Ford.

F.B.I. TWO-BULLET THEORY: That Kennedy and Connally were hit by two different bullets.

ORIGINATORS: The F.B.I.

SOURCES: F.B.I. agents Francis X. O'Neill, Jr. and James W. Sibert, authors of The F.B.I. Autopsy Report. Edward J. Epstein, author of *Inquest*.

MUSCLE: J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., over whose signature the report was written.

SUPPORTERS: Secret Service Agents Green, Bennett, Hill and Kellerman, all of whom describe a back wound six inches below the collar... and, by implication, the Doubters...

DOUBTING COMMISSIONERS who nevertheless agreed with the Commission's conclusions about Oswald's guilt: Senator Richard Russell, who almost refused to sign the Report, Senator John Sherman Cooper, Representative Hale Boggs.

OTHER IMPORTANT DOUBTERS Governor John Connally, who testified flatly that it was inconceivable that he and Kennedy were hit by the same bullet. Mrs. Connally, who concurs. Governor Connally's doctors: Shaw, Gregory and Shires.

THIS THEORY WOULD BE PROVED...

MISSING EVIDENCE

... SHOULD AUTOPSY PHOTOS AND X-rays reveal a bullet wound entering the base of Kennedy's neck in the rear and exiting at the throat.

... SHOULD AUTOPSY PHOTOS AND X-rays reveal a shallow entrance wound in Kennedy's back, six inches below the collar line, not in the back of the neck.

ONE ASSASSIN

ONE ASSASSIN
If this is borne out by the autopsy pictures, the Warren Commission will have survived its most serious challenge to date, and once again the leading theory will be...

LEE HARVEY OSWALD, LONE ASSASSIN: Lee Harvey Oswald, by himself, with no assistant in the planning or in the act, shot and killed President John F. Kennedy.

PROponent: The Warren Report. Signed by all seven commissioners, even those who doubted the single-bullet theory.

INDEPENDENT CHAMPIONS OF THE REPORT: Louis Nizer, lawyer, wrote introduction to the Doubleday edition of *The Warren Report*. Harrison Salisbury, Assistant Managing Editor of *The New York Times*, wrote introduction to the Times-Bantam edition of the Report. Fletcher Knebel, wrote a ringing defense of the Report in *Look Magazine*. Lord Devlin, Chief Coroner of England, wrote in high praise of the Report.

TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY
32 eyewitnesses believed this to be the source of the shots.

ANTI-WARREN REPORT THEORIES If the autopsy pictures prove there were two or more assassins, public confidence in any facet of *The Warren Report* will be destroyed. In the wake of its collapse, these far out theories (which do not necessarily involve two riflemen) will gain a small measure of credibility in certain circles.

JUNTA THEORY Proponent: M. S. Aronoff, Editor *Minority of One*. Among the conspirators: senators, generals, and admirals.

CRYSTAL-BALL THEORY Proponent: Jeanne Dixon, prophetess. Conspirator: Fidel Castro.

EVIL FORCES THEORY Proponent: Quaman Ba, foreign minister of Mali. Conspirators: the same forces which had Lumumba and Hammarskjöld killed and were responsible for the U.S.-Belgian rescue in the Congo.

MERCY-KILLING THEORY Proponent: Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, mother of the accused. Conspirators: the C.I.A., the Secret Service and her son.

CLUB BONO THEORY Proponents: Joachim Joesten, Barbara Garrison, Don B. Reynolds, Jack Ruby and others. Conspirator: Lyndon Johnson.

RED EXECUTION THEORY Proponent: Revilo P. Oliver, former Professor at the University of Illinois. Conspirators: Kennedy's fellow Communists.

GRUDGING SUPPORTERS OF THE REPORT. Critical of the Report and the work that went into it, but in agreement with its conclusions when it was published, these men now have serious reservations: Dwight Macdonald, *Esquire* and *The New Yorker*, Murray Kempton, *The New Republic*, Max Lerner, *New York Post*.

All Depository theories and theorists are included in the light grey area.

Chart designed by Ron Bonder

12. DOMESTIC QUARREL THEORY

Proponent: Representative Gerald Ford, Commissioner Gerald Ford, in his book, *Portrait of the Assassin*, suggests that Oswald was still hedging on the eve of the assassination when he returned home to see his wife, Marina. She spurned him. Oswald then went to the garage. He got his rifle.

13. HORRIBLE ACCIDENT THEORY

Proponent: Marina Oswald. In her final testimony before the Commission, Marina Oswald advanced her own theory of Lee's motive. She said she believed her husband was actually trying to shoot Governor John Connally, and missed, and by a horrible accident he killed the President.

14. OEDIPAL THEORY

Proponent: Dr. Renatus Hartogs, co-author of *The Two Assassins*. Dr. Hartogs, a psychiatrist who evaluated Oswald as a thirteen-year-old boy, has recently advanced a theory explaining the assassination in terms of Oswald's repressed lust for his mother. Hartogs observes that Oswald slept in his mother's bed long after he should have had a bed of his own, and suggests that inner guilt feelings may have led him to kill President Kennedy. Dr. Hartogs finds it significant that Oswald shot at both Kennedy and Tippit three times, since the number "three" in psychoanalytic thinking symbolizes the masculine genitals. However, Sylvia Meagher points out in her review of

Hartogs' book that Tippit was shot four times.

15. KILLER-INSTINCT THEORY

Proponent: John J. McCloy. In a secret colloquium between the Commission and three psychiatrists, Commissioner McCloy advanced the "killer-instinct" theory. He noted that Oswald had killed two men and attempted to shoot at least three others (Governor Connally, General Walker, and the police officer who tried to arrest him). McCloy reasoned that this indicated a pattern of innate violence. By the time the report was written, however, McCloy's hypothesis seems to have been lost in the shuffle.

The following four theories are based on the belief that Oswald was innocent, that he was framed for both the Kennedy assassination and murder of officer J. D. Tippit by the real conspirators who planted evidence against him before and after the assassination. The logic of these theories inevitably leads to a high-level conspiracy involving law-enforcement agencies. For example, to believe that Oswald did not kill Tippit, it is necessary to assume: a) shells from Oswald's revolver were planted at the scene by the real murderers; b) the revolver then was planted on Oswald by the Dallas police (the plot obviously could not have depended on Oswald going home and conveniently fetching his pistol); and c) Oswald's admission that he had his revolver with him when arrested was fabricated.

16. PLANTED-RIFLE THEORY

Proponent: Mark Lane. **Thesis:** A 7.65 caliber German Mauser was found in the Book Depository, and later Oswald's 6.5 caliber Italian Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was substituted for it. This theory is based on testimony (and an affidavit) indicating that the three Dallas law officers first described the rifle as a Mauser. The problem with this theory is that the bullet fragments found in the President's car ballistically match Oswald's Carcano, proving that it was employed in the assassination (no matter where or when it was found).

17. PLANTED-BULLET THEORY

Proponents: Professor Richard H. Popkin, Professor Josiah Thompson, Sylvia Meagher, Vincent Salandria, Léo Sauvage, Harold Weisberg, Mark Lane and Ray Marcus. **Thesis:** A bullet, which The Warren Report states was found on Connally's stretcher, was fired from Oswald's rifle sometime prior to the assassination. Then, after the assassination, it was planted on a stretcher in the Dallas hospital where Kennedy and Connally were treated, thereby framing Oswald.

This theory is based on the fact that evidence developed by the Commission precluded both Kennedy's and Connally's stretchers as possible sources for the stretcher bullet. The Commission's autopsy report stated that the bullet exited Kennedy, therefore it could not have come from his stretcher. And Drs. Finck, Humes, and

Shaw testified that more fragments were found in Connally's wrist than were missing from the bullet, thus ruling out Connally's stretcher as a source for the bullet. Furthermore, in missing tapes of the doctors' press conference, which was held after the stretcher bullet was found, Dr. Shaw supposedly says that a nearly whole bullet was lodged in Connally's thigh. The theorists thus deduce that the bullet must have been planted on the stretcher. The fact that no blood or other organic material was found on the bullet reinforces their argument. Professor Thompson further points out that the only bullet similar in appearance to the stretcher bullet was obtained by firing Oswald's rifle into a long tube of cotton. He believes that this test indicated that the stretcher bullet was probably obtained by firing the bullet into cotton.



The Commission claims this bullet pierced Kennedy's neck and Connally's shoulder, ribs, wrist and thigh. Theorists say it's a fake.

18. OSWALD IMPERSONATOR THEORY

Proponents: Léo Sauvage, Harold Weisberg, Sylvia Meagher (See also Popkin's Two-Oswald Theory).

Thesis: Before the assassination, someone impersonating Oswald planted clues that would incriminate Oswald

HOW THE LEADING THEORISTS ANSWER THE LEADING QUESTIONS

Theorists	Who killed Kennedy?	How many assassins were there?	Source of the shots	How many shots?	Were Connally and J.F.K. hit by same bullet?	Was the Stretcher Bullet planted?	J.F.K.'s throat wound	Did Oswald kill Tippit?	Ruby's role	Did Oswald have a double?	Why did Tippit stop Oswald (or whoever it was)?
WARREN COMMISSION <i>The Warren Report</i>	Oswald	One	Texas School Book Depository	3	Yes	No	Caused by exit of bullet	Yes	Lone avenger	No	Broadcast of witness' description
MARR LANE <i>Rush to Judgment</i>	Oswald framed	2 or more	Grassy Knoll	4	No	Yes	Entrance	No	Conspirator		Tippit somehow involved
LEO SAUVAGE <i>The Oswald Affair</i>	Oswald not proven guilty	2			No	Yes		No	In a conspiracy not connected with assassination	Yes	Not because of police broadcast
HAROLD WEISBERG <i>Whitewash</i>	A conspiracy, possibly with Oswald	2 or more	Knoll and Depository	4	No	Yes	Entrance	No	Possible conspirator	Yes	Unexplained reason
FRED COOK <i>articles in The Nation</i>	Oswald and others	2 or more	Knoll and Depository	3-4	No	No	Exit	Yes			
RICHARD POPKIN <i>The Second Oswald</i>	Oswald and others	2	Knoll and Depository	4	No	Yes	Entrance	Yes	Non-conspirator	Yes	Accidental encounter
VINCENT SALANDRIA <i>articles in Minority of One</i>	Oswald probably framed	3 or 4	1) Depository 2) Knoll 3) Fence area 4) Roof of Criminal Court	At least 5	No	Yes	Uncertain	Certainly not alone. Probably not at all.	Conspirator	Probably—but unknown to Oswald	
JOACHIM JOESTEN <i>Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy?</i>	Oswald framed	2 or more	Railroad overpass or Knoll	4 or more	No	Yes	Entrance	No	Possible conspirator	Yes	Unexplained reason
SYLVIA MEAGHER <i>Subject Index to the Warren Report, Hearings and Exhibits</i>	Oswald probably framed	2 or more	Knoll and Depository	4	No	Yes	Entrance	No	Conspirator	Possibly	Tippit involved
THOMAS BUCHANAN <i>Who Killed Kennedy?</i>	Oswald and others	2	Overpass & Depository	3 or more	No		Entrance	Yes	Conspirator	No	Tippit involved
SYLVAN FOX <i>The Unanswered Questions about President Kennedy's Assassination</i>	Oswald and others	2 or more	Knoll and Depository	4	No		Entrance	Yes	Conspirator		